

## Message Text

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QUOTE S E C R E T OTTAWA 3186

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
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SUBJ: TRUDEAU'S TROUBLES

REF: A) OTTAWA 2688 (NOTAL); B) OTTAWA 3036 (NOTAL);  
C) OTTAWA 2691; D) OTTAWA 2692; E) OTTAWA 3185

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AN ANALYSIS OF TRUDEAU'S TROUBLES  
OVER THE PAST YEAR IDENTIFIES SOME ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT  
BE TAKEN TO TURN THINGS AROUND FOR THE LIBERAL GOVERN-  
MENT, AND THERE ARE SOME SIGNS OF MOTION ALONG THESE  
LINES ALREADY DISCERNIBLE. HOWEVER, MANY OF THE STEPS  
SUGGESTED BY THE ANALYSIS WOULD REQUIRE THE ADOPTION OF  
UNCHARACTERISTIC ATTITUDES BY TRUDEAU AND HIS  
GOVERNMENT, WHO MAY PERSUADE THEMSELVES THAT THEY  
CAN SAFELY RELY ON THE PASSAGE OF TIME TO RECTIFY  
THEIR POLITICAL POSITION IN THE COUNTRY. AN IM-  
PONDERABLE IS WHETHER RELATIVE PROSPERITY WILL DIM

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VOTER RECOLLECTIONS OF TRUDEAU MISDEEDS, OR WHETHER,

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CANADIAN PEOPLE WILL NOW BUY ANY TRUDEAU ACT, HOWEVER WELL CLEANED-UP. THE MOOD IN OTTAWA IN MID-SUMMER 1976 IS THEREFORE ONE OF WATCHFUL, UNCERTAIN, AND SCEPTICAL WAITING FOR THE TRUDEAU FALL PERFORMANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE JULY 17, THE EYES OF CANADA HAVE BEEN DIVERTED FROM THE MISSTEPS OF THE TRUDEAU GOVERNMENT BY THE GLAMOUR AND GLITTER OF THE MONTREAL OLYMPICS. THIS OLYMPIAN DIVERSION FROM ITS TROUBLES IS THE FIRST RESPITE THAT HAS COME THE TRUDEAU GOVERNMENT'S WAY IN A YEAR. A SECOND BOON CAME IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE GAMES: THE ARRIVAL OF THE MONTH OF AUGUST, WHEN OTTAWA GOES INTO A STATE OF SUSPENDED ANIMATION FOR THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS AND POLITICS ARE LARGELY FORGOTTEN. INDEED, THOUGH THE OTTAWA PACE PICKS UP SOMEWHAT AFTER LABOR DAY, THE GOVERNMENT'S PERIOD OF RELIEF FROM THE FULL IMPACT OF OPPOSITION AND MEDIA PROBINGS WILL EXTEND UNTIL PARLIAMENT RECONVENES OCTOBER 12. THAT PROVIDES A GOODLY LENGTH OF TIME FOR DUST TO SETTLE AND FOR ELABORATION OF A GAME PLAN FOR RECOVERING LOST POLITICAL YARDAGE.

3. OUR CONTACTS IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ARE RELUCTANT TO REVEAL WHAT PRECISELY THE GAME PLAN WILL CONTAIN. THIS MAY BE BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN TOO BUSY LICKING THEIR WOUNDS AND ANALYZING HOW THEY GOT THEM TO CONCENTRATE ON MEASURES TO REVERSE THEIR ADVERSE POSITION IN RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS. ONE SIGN OF UNCERTAINTY IS THE FACT THAT PRESS SPECTULATION ABOUT A POSSIBLE CABINET CHANGE HAS VEERED FROM A PROBABLY MAJOR CHANGE TO A "MINI-SHUFFLE", WITH THE TIMING MOVING FROM MID-SUMMER TO FIRST HALF SEPTEMBER AND NOW, AS ANNOUNCED BY TRUDEAU AUGUST 5, EITHER SEPTEMBER OR DECEMBER. IN OUR VIEW, A HARD-HEADED ANALYSIS BY TRUDEAU'S POLITICAL OPERATIVES WOULD LEAD THEM TO THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

(A) WHILE THEY HAVE TWO YEARS TO RECOVER LOST GROUND, FALL '76 IS THE TIME TO BEGIN IF THE LIBERAL  
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PARTY IS TO WIN IN '78. A REPUTATION AS A LOSER IF ALLOWED TO CONTINUE TOO LONG CAN BECOME SELF-FULFILLING, AND WITH TWO PROBABLE BY-ELECTION DEFEATS FACING THEM IN MID-OCTOBER (REF A) THE LIBERALS WOULD BE WELL-ADVISED TO HAVE IN MOTION BY THEN MEASURES TO OVERCOME THAT REPUTATION. FAVORING SUCH A TURN-AROUND IS THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE BEHIND THEM SUCH POLITICALLY-DAMAGING MEASURES AS C-58 (THE TIME MAGAZINE BILL) AND THE

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT LAW, THOUGH THEY STILL HAVE TO DISPOSE OF THE LATTER LAW'S COMPANION "PEACE AND SECURITY" BILL WHOSE GUN-CONTROL FEATURES ARE ANATHEMA TO MANY CANADIANS. TO ERASE THE MEMORY OF THOSE MEASURES, THEY NEED SOME CROWD-PLEASERS, ESPECIALLY FOR THE ANGLOPHONE CORWD. THAT THEY ARE THINKING ALONG THESE LINES IS SUGGESTED BY THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PLANS ARE BEING SHELVED TO CLOSE CERTAIN MILITARY BASES: THOSE REPORTEDLY ON THE CLOSURE LIST WERE IN ENGLISH CANADA. INDEED IT IS IN ENGLISH CANADA WHERE ANY PRO-MILITARY STEP FINDS A WELCOMING CONSTITUENCY, AND THIS SHOULD IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR RAPID PROGRESS BY THE GOC ON ITS PROJECTED TANK AND FIGHTER AIRCRAFT PURCHASES. THE PM'S ANNOUNCED DETERMINATION TO "PATRIATE" THE CONSTITUTION IS ALSO SHAPING UP AS AN ANGLOPHONE-PLEASER, BOTH BECAUSE OF ITS "NATIONAL FULFILLMENT" CHARACTER AND BECAUSE IT IS OPPOSED BY THE QUEBEC GOVERNMENT. IN GENERAL, THE GOC MAY BE EXPECTED TO SHIFT FROM LEADING A RELUCTANT PUBLIC ALONG PATHS THE GOVERNMENT THINKS ARE RIGHT TO ACTING IN A MANNER LIKELY TO GAIN POPULAR PLAUDITS ESPECIALLY AMONG ANGLOPHONES.

(B) THEY MUST DEFUSE THE BILINGUALISM ISSUE WHICH COULD LEAD TO A BREAK-UP OF CONFEDERATION AND/OR RENDER THE LIBERAL QUEBEC POWER BASE A DIMINISHED ASSET. THE ISSUE OF BILINGUALISM IN MONTREAL AIRSPACE (REFS C AND D) GAVE RACISM A RESPECTABLE COVER BY ENABLING ANGLOPHONES TO ATTACK BILINGUALISM AS ENDANGERING AIR SAFETY. THE ENSUING DEBATE REVEALED THAT ANGLOPHONE IRE OVER BILINGUALISM HAS REACHED A STAGE WHERE ANGLOPHONES RE WILLING PUBLICLY TO STATE THAT IF QUEBEC SEPARATES FROM THE REST OF CANADA, IT WILL BE A CASE OF "GOOD RIDDANCE". HOPEFULLY THIS ISSUE WILL RECEDE DURING THE  
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SUMMER FROM THE MEDIA INTO THE CONFINES OF THE INQUIRY COMMISSION'S CHAMBERS. IF THE LIBERALS CAN WEATHER THIS ISSUE, AND RIDE OUT THE INEVITABLE STORM WHICH WILL FOLLOW THE ISSUANCE OF THE INQUIRY COMMISSION'S REPORT, AVOIDANCE OF FURTHER DIVISIVE BILINGUAL STEPS WOULD SEEM TO BE INDICATED, WITH INITIATIVES IN THIS FIELD CONFINED TO JAW-BONING THE ANGLO COMMUNITY INTO AGAIN ACCEPTING, AS AKIN TO MOTHERHOOD, THE PRINCIPLE OF A UNITED BILINGUAL CANADA. THIS PROCESS WAS EFFECTIVELY STARTED BY A DINNER SPEECH IN MONTREAL BY QUEEN ELIZABETH WHO DESCRIBED BILINGUALISM AS A "NOBLE GOAL" AND CANADA'S EXAMPLE TO THE WORLD. WHILE THE SPEECH WAS, OF COURSE, WRITTEN FOR HER BY TRUDEAU'S SPEECHWRITERS, IT NONETHELESS CAME FROM THE MOUTH OF THE QUEEN WHOM ANGLO-CANADIANS REVERE. BUT MORE

THAN JAWBONING WILL BE REQUIRED TO CONVINCE ANGLOPHONE CANADA THAT QUEBEC IS WORTH KEEPING, AND THE GOC MAY HAVE TO DECIDE TO REDUCE THE PRICE BY RESTRUCTURING THE BILINGUALISM PROGRAM. THE MAY HAVE TO MAKE THE STRATEGIC RETREAT SUGGESTED RECENTLY BY THE BILINGUALISM COMMISSIONER OF DE-EMPHASIZING BILINGUALISM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND INSTEAD PROMOTING IT IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS.

(C) THE LIBERALS ARE BEING HURT BY REPEATED INSTANCES OF MISMANAGEMENT. AS JUST ONE OF MANY EXAMPLES, THE HANDLING OF THE LOCKHEED CONTRACT FOR LONG-RANGE PATROL AIRCRAFT PRESENTED SUCH A SPECTACLE OF GOVERNMENTAL INCOMPETENCE AS TO APPALL EVEN PRO-PONENTS OF THE ACQUISITION. THE ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE ISSUE WILL LATER THIS YEAR AGAIN STRAIN THE ABILITY OF THE GOC TO HANDLE A COMPLEX ISSUE AND AT THE MOMENT THE GOC SHOWS LITTLE EVIDENCE OF BEING PREPARED TO DEAL WITH IT EFFICIENTLY. SOME OF THE GOC'S MISMANAGEMENT MAY BE TRACEABLE TO DISAFFECTION WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY: CIVIL SERVANTS WHO LACK ENTHUSIASM OR HARBOR HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT THEY SERVE WILL BE MORE INCLINED THAN USUAL TO SLOPPY PERFORMANCE AND CAN IN EXTREME CASES SABOTAGE GOVERNMENT EFFORTS (VIZ., THE RECENT LEAKS OF CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS). A GOVERNMENT THAT LOOKS TO BE ON ITS WAY OUT CAN EXPECT MORE OF THIS AS  
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CIVIL SERVANTS SEEK TO HEDGE THEIR BETS FOR THE FUTURE. A CABINET CHANGE OF SIGNIFICANT PROPORTIONS THAT REMOVED MINISTERS WHO ARE THEMSELVES INCOMPETENT AND THOSE MOST UNPOPULAR WITH THE BUREAUCRACY COULD HELP, AS COULD DE-EMPHASIS ON BILINGUALISM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

(D) THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN HURT BY THE ELITIST IMPRESSION IT CONVEYS IN ARROGATING TO ITSELF A MONOPOLY ON DECIDING WHAT IS RIGHT FOR THE COUNTRY. IT IS SEEN BY MANY CANADIANS AS RESPONDING TO ELITIST PRESSURES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT (THE TAIWAN OLYMPIC POSITION IS A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF CANAD'S CHINA POLICY BUT MAKES NO SENSE IN MOOSE JAW) AND OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT (BILL C-58 IS PLEASING TO THE CULTURAL NATIONALISTS BUT IS IT WORTH THE RISK TO OSHAWA VIEWERS OF HAVING ARCHIE BUNKER BLACKED OUT OF THEIR SCREENS?) UNRESPONSIVENESS TO MAJORITY INTERESTS COULD IN PART BE CORRECTED BY, AGAIN, A CABINET CHANGE WHICH REMOVED MINISTERS SO LONG IN OFFICE AS TO BE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE COUNTRY AND THEIR REPLACEMENT BY NEW MINISTERS WITH SHARPER POLITICAL INSTINCTS, PARTICULARLY

MPS FROM UNSAFE CONSTITUENCIES. ANOTHER STEP IN THIS DIRECTION WOULD BE PARLIAMENTARY REFORM WHICH GAVE MPS, AND THROUGH THEM THE COUNTRY, MORE REAL INPUT INTO THE FORMULATION OF POLICIES AND LEGISLATION BEYOND THEIR PRESENT TAIL-BETWEEN-THE-LEGS ROLE OF SIMPLY VOTING FOR THEIR PARTY'S POSITION. STILL ANOTHER WOULD BE SPONSORSHIP OF A FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT.

(E) THE LIBERALS MUST QUESTION WHETHER THEIR PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICIES AND HOPES FOR A CANADIAN ECONOMIC UPTURN FOLLOWING A U.S. RECOVERY WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE THEM THE ELECTORAL HOLE-CARD OF PROSPERITY FAVORING THE INCUMBENTS. THE VERY PROSPERITY ENJOYED BY MOST CANADIANS MAKES THEM SENSITIVE TO SIGNS AND PORTENTS SUGGESTING THAT GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES AND PHILOSOPHY MAY PREVENT THEM FROM DOING AS WELL AS THE NEXT GUY, STOP THEM FROM IMPROVING THEIR LOT EVEN MORE, OR EVEN TAKE SOMETHING AWAY FROM THEM LIBERALS MAY NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT UNEMPLOYMENT RATES HAVE

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REMAINED STATIC AND INFLATION RATES ARE CONSIDERABLY LOWER THAN LAST YEAR. AT THE SAME TIME THEY SEE INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC ANALYSTS PREDICTING SLOWER ECONOMIC GROWTH IN 1977 THAN IN 1976 AND ARE AWARE OF OTHER WEAKNESSES IN THE ECONOMY: LARGE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT, SLOW-DOWN IN FIXED CAPITAL INVESTMENT, DECLINE IN CONSUMER CONFIDENCE, OVERVALUED CANADIAN DOLLAR, A PREFERENCE FOR INVESTMENT IN THE U.S. RATHER THAN CANADA BY CANADIAN INVESTORS. THEY ARE ALSO AWARE THAT THE WAGE AND PRICE CONTROL PROGRAM HAS CAUSED DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE PART OF LEADERS OF BOTH LABOR AND BUSINESS, WITH THE LATTER ADDITIONALLY SUSPICIOUS OF TRUDEAU FOR HIS SOCIALISTIC MUSINGS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER CONTROLS IN THE FUTURE. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT LIBERAL PLANNERS ARE NOW LOOKING AT WAYS OF ASSOCIATING BUSINESS AND LABOR IN THE ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING PROCESS TO OVERCOME THIS DISENCHANTMENT AND, SPECIFICALLY, TO SHARE WITH THEM RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT HAPPENS IN THE POST-CONTROL PERIOD. HOWEVER, A THIRD MEETING BETWEEN TRUDEAU AND LABOR LEADERS ON AUGUST 6 APPEARS TO HAVE FAILED TO MOLLIFY THE LATTER SUFFICIENTLY TO AVERT A NATION-WIDE ONE-DAY WORK STOPPAGE SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 13, THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONTROLS PROGRAM. WHILE BASICALLY A TOKEN PROTEST, AS THE FIRST NATION-WIDE STRIKE IN CANAD'S HISTORY, THE STOPPAGE -- IF IT OCCURS -- WOULD HAVE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE (REF E)..

(F) LIBERAL PLANNERS UNDOUBTEDLY ARE LOOKING AT

THE EFFECT OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS ON THE PARTY'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. THE YAWNS WITH WHICH THE COUNTRY GREETED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE LONG-SOUGHT "CONTRACTUAL LINK" WITH THE EEC IS INDICATIVE OF THE ZERO EFFECT MOST FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES HAVE ON THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE. THE GENERALLY ADVERSE REACTIONS TO TRUDEAU'S VISIT TO CUBA AND TO THE CANADIAN POSITION ON TAIWAN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE OLYMPICS SUGGEST THAT THERE IS LITTLE TO BE GAINED AND POSSIBLY SOMETHING TO BE LOST BY OVER-ACTIVE PURSUIT OF ONE-"TRENDY" RELATIONS WITH SUCH COUNTRIES AS CUBA AND THE PRC. TRUDEAU'S PLANNED VISIT TO JAPAN IN OCTOBER MAY BE AN SECRET

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INDICATION THAT TRUDEAU'S ADVISERS ARE COUNSELLING CONCENTRATION OF FOREIGN POLICY EFFORTS FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS ON AREAS OF GREATER TANGIBLE INTEREST TO CANADA RATHER THAN ON COUNTRIES IN WHICH CANADIAN INTEREST SEEMS TO DERIVE FROM AN IDEOLOGICAL DILETTANTISM OUTSIDE THE MAINSTREAM OF CANADIAN THOUGHT AND/OR FROM A DESIRE TO UNDERSCORE CANADA'S DIVERSITY FROM THE U.S.

(G) TRUDEAU'S ADVISERS ARE WELL AWARE THAT CANADA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. IS THE ONE FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE WHICH CAN HAVE MAJOR ELECTORAL REPERCUSSIONS. IT IS A DELICATE ONE FOR THEM TO DALL. AN APPEARANCE OF SUBSERVIENCE TOWARDS THE U.S. WOULD BOTH GO AGAINST THE TRUDEAU GOVERNMENT'S GRAIN AND COST THEM HEAVILY POLITICALLY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY ARE ACUTELY AWARE THAT THE APPEARANCE OF MISMANAGEMENT OF WHAT IS OVERWHELMINGLY CANADA'S MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN RELATIONSHIP COULD HAVE WORSE CONSEQUENCES. THEY UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE BEEN WATCHING WITH DISCOMFORT CANADIAN REACTIONS TO PUBLIC EMPHASIS ON THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES MADE IN SPEECHES BY AMBASSADORS PORTER AND ENDERS AND IN PUBLISHED STUDIES BY THE CANADIAN SENATE AND THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE. THE CANADIAN PUBLIC SEEMS GENERALLY TO BE CONCLUDING THAT THE LEVEL OF DISCORD BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IS AT AN ALL-TIME HIGH AND BLAMES TRUDEAU FOR THIS. TRUDEAU'S POLITICAL ADVISERS ARE PROBABLY CONCLUDING THAT SHOCKS TO U.S.-CANADIAN RELATIONS MUST BE AVOIDED IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS AND MAY HAVE IN MIND THAT SOME MAJOR COOPERATIVE UNDERTAKING WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO DISPEL THE GROWING SENSE THAT TRUDEAU IS MISMANAGING THE RELATIONSHIP.

(H) THE MAJOR PROBLEM LIBERAL OPERATIVES MUST BE WRESTLING WITH IS HOW TO REPROGRAM TRUDEAU TO TRANSFORM HIM FROM BEING, AT PRESENT, A NET LIABILITY TO THE

PARTY TO BECOMING, HOPEFULLY, MORE THAN JUST A NET ASSET. MANY OF THE WAYS FOR IMPROVING LIBERAL POPULARITY WHICH THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS SUGGEST WOULD REQUIRE A DIFFERENT TRUDEAU THAN THE ARROGANT PHILOSOPHER-KING OF THE PAST TWO YEARS. TRUDEAU HAS AN OBSTINATE  
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STREAK AND RESISTS PRESSURES UP TO AND SOMETIMES BEYOND THE BREAKING-POINT (E.G. IT TOOK FINANCE MINISTER TURNER'S RESIGNATION TO GET HIM TO MOVE ON THE ECONOMIC POLICY FRONT; IT TOOK A PILOTS' STRIKE TO BUDGE HIM ON BILINGUALISM IN MONTREAL AIRSPACE). IT WILL ACCORDINGLY BE HARD FOR HIM TO BACK DOWN ON BILINGUALISM (HIS MOST CHERISHED PROGRAM), TO BID FAREWELL TO CABINET MINISTERS WHO, WHILE LIABILITIES, ARE OLD AND TRUSTED FRIENDS, TO SWALLOW HIS CONTEMPT FOR PARLIAMENT TO THE EXTENT OF GIVING THAT BODY ANY MEANINGFUL SHARE IN DECISION-MAKING, TO RESTRAIN HIS ANIMOSITY TO THE PRESS, HIS CONDESCENSION TO THE MERE MORTALS HE RULES, HIS HABIT OF OFF-THE-TOP-OF-HIS-HEAD PHILOSOPHIZING ALONG GALBRAITHIAN/CLUB OF ROME LINES. IN 1974 HE SHOWED THAT HE WAS CAPABLE OF CHANGING HIS STYLE, OF BECOMING A REALISTIC, HARD-HITTING, EVEN WARM PIERRE TRUDEAU WHO GAVE THE PEOPLE WHAT THEY WANTED PACKAGED IN EMPATHY NOT ARROGANCE. THE SUCCESS OF WHATEVER GAME PLAN THE LIBERALS DEVISE COULD FOUNDER UNLESS TRUDEAU IS WILLING TO TAKE SOME HARD DECISIONS AND IMPLEMENT GENUINE RATHER THAN MERELY COSMETIC CHANGES LONG ENOUGH IN ADVANCE OF THE ELECTIONS TO CHANGE VOTER PERCEPTIONS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. HE MUST ALSO BE PREPARED TO ADOPT A VOTER-APPEALING STYLE (WHETHER THAT OF 1974 OR THAT OF WISE ELDER STATESMAN).

3. A FACTOR THAT MIGHT DISINCLINE TRUDEAU TO CHANGE HIS AND HIS GOVERNMENT'S LIFESYTL AT THIS TIME IS THE FACT THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING LOW POLL RATINGS, THEY ARE NOT FACING IMMINENT DEFEAT. BARRING SOME UNFORESEEABLE DISASTER, NOTHING CAN HAPPEN TO THREATEN TRUDEAU'S HOLD ON POWER FOR A GOOD TWO YEARS, WITHIN WHICH TIME THINGS MIGHT TURN IN HIS FAVOR WITHOUT HIS HAVING TO TAKE ANY DISTASTEFUL DECISIONS. WHATEVER AMBIGUITY THERE MIGHT BE IN CURRENT ECONOMIC INDICATORS, TRUDEAU CAN WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION EXPECT THAT THE ECONOMY, WHICH ALREADY GIVES CANADIANS ONE OF THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE WORLD, WILL IN TWO YEARS HAVE IMPROVED TO THE POINT WHERE VOTER PERCEPTION OF PROSPERITY WILL CONSTITUTE AN ARGUMENT AGAINST CHANGING HORSES AND WILL HAVE CLOUDED RECOLLECTION OF PAST  
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TRUDEAU GOVERNMENT PECCADILLOES. WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS REINFORCING TRUDEAU'S TENDENCY TO "HANG IN THERE", HE IS QUOTE CAPABLE OF SHRUGGING OFF ADVICE PROPSING MAJOR AND PAINFUL CHANGES, GO WITH A MINIMALLY-ALTERED CABINET, WARD OFF FUTURE MINISTERIALS MISSTEPS WITH A STERN LOOK, PUT THE FEAR OF GOD IN CIVIL SERVANTS OVER LEAKED DOCUMENTS, AND DELAY ANY MAJOR FACE-LIFTING EFFORTS UNTIL THE EVE OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN PROPER.

4. A FURTHER CONSIDERATION THAT MAY INDUCE TRUDEAU TO BIDE HIS TIME IS THE NATURE OF HIS OPPOSITION. EVEN BEING UNCHARACTERISTICALLY MODEST, TRUDEAU CAN TAKE COMFORT FROM THE FACT THAT JOE CLARK IS NO MATCH FOR HIM IN A SLUGGING BOUT. CLARK'S POLITICAL RISE OVER THE PAST HALF YEAR HAS BEEN ALMOST ENTIRELY THE RESULT OF LIBERAL SELF-INFLICTED BLOWS. TRUDEAU CAN CONCLUDE THAT WITH A MINIMAL CLEANING UP OF HIS OWN ACT, HE CAN WAIT FOR THE INEVITABLE DAY WHEN CLARK MUST START OUTLINING HIS OWN PROGRAMS, AT WHICH POINT TRUDEAU CAN POUNCE.

5. IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, LIBERAL HOPES WILL STAND OR FALL ON THE BIGGEST IMPONDERABLE OF ALL: BOTER ATTITUDES TOWARD PIERRE TRUDEAU. VOTER KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY'S ABILITY TO COME FROM BEHIND PERSUADED A PLURALITY OF THOSE POLLED IN A RECENT SURVEY TO EXPECT THAT THE LIBERALS WILL SOMEHOW DO THE NECESSARY TO WIN (REF B). HOWEVER, TRUDEAU'S PERSONAL POPULARITY REMAINS AT AN ALL-TIME LOW. HIS STATURE AS A POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEADER IS CHALLENGED BY NO ONE ON THE CANADIAN SCENE AND HE STILL HAS MANY PASSIONATE SUPPORTERS. BUT THE NUMBERS OF THOSE WHO IN THE PAST WOULD HAVE GIVEN HIM AUTOMATIC SUPPORT AND THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE AUTOMATICALLY GIVEN HIM THE BENEFIT OF ANY DOUBT ARE REDUCED, WHILE THE RANKS OF HIS KNEE-JERK OPPONENTS ARE SWELLING. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT ANY CANDIDATE-PACKAGING CAN RESTORE THE TRUDEAUMANIA OF THE LATE SIXTIES. IF TYE MISTRUST AND SUSPICION OF HIMSELF THET TRUDEAU HAS STIMULATED OVER THE YEARS HAS MADE TRUDEAUPHOBIA A DOMINANT VOTER ATTITUDE, NO GIME PLAN HOWEVER WELL DEVISED WILL WORK.

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